



Review of Copular Clauses in English and Polish. Structure, Derivation, and Interpretation by Anna Bondaruk

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Copular Clauses in English and Polish. Structure, Derivation and Interpretation. Anna Bondaruk. 2013. Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL. pp. 371.

Reviewed by Adam Szczegielniak¹

Research into the nature and structure of copular constructions has provided a lot of interesting insight into the architecture of the grammar and the interaction between syntax, morphology and semantics. For example, work by Andrea Moro (2000) on symmetry within the verb phrase, or Marcel den Dikken's (2006) proposals on phase extension, have spurred new approaches to how basic syntactic computations are carried out. The book under review here, "Copular Clauses in English and Polish. Structure Derivation and Interpretation" by Anna Bondaruk, is an interesting contribution to this already vibrant field of research. Her work has two aims: to provide a clear and state-of-the-art overview of existing proposals on a whole variety of copular constructions, and to offer an analysis of three major classes of such constructions in Polish. In order to achieve this goal, the book is divided into two sections. Part I discusses copular clauses in English, whereas Part II critically analyzes existing proposals on copular constructions in Polish and puts forward a novel analysis for these structures. This is a simple linear division of labor that has the advantage of providing the reader with an overview of research that is richer than what the author needs in her analysis of Polish. The downside to this approach is that it also gives the impression that work on these two languages remains to some degree disjoint. Fortunately, the author makes an effort to integrate some of the work on non-Slavic copulas into the discussion of her own proposals. The discussion concentrates on research carried out in the past twenty years within the generative framework of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995). The author's own proposals are also couched within this approach. The aim appears to be to accommodate Slavic data to the broad principles assumed within MP.

The book is 371 pages long, and includes an index and references. The first three chapters, roughly one third of the book, are devoted to English. The discussion is very detailed providing an exhaustive taxonomy of copular constructions. The impression is that the goal of this section is to give the reader a sense of the richness of 'flavors' that copular construction come in when analyzed semantically and syntactically. In Chapter I, we are introduced to the taxonomy of copular constructions in English based on Higgins (1979)

¹ I would like to thank Wayles Browne and Marcel den Dikken for their comments. Any errors are obviously mine.

and to proposals in Mikkelsen (2004, 2005), whose work will resonate throughout the rest of the book. Chapter II gives an overview of the predication and specificational clauses in English, and Chapter III introduces us to equatives in English. Each chapter follows a template where the properties of the constructions are introduced, followed by a critical overview of existing recent approaches. In that sense, the discussion is not so much driven by any given proposal or theory, other than broad minimalism, rather it is driven by taxonomy. Such an approach makes the first section a useful reference tool for any linguist interested in these constructions, but readers should not expect to find advocacy for any specific framework. Instead, they will find a critical overview and comparison of some of the existing proposals. Work by Mikkelsen (2005, 2011) and Roy (2006) plays an important role in the discussion. Proposals made by the latter are crucial for the author in that they introduce a subdivision of predication clauses into characterizing and defining ones that is later used in the analysis of Polish.

Polish copular clauses is what the second part of the book concentrates on. Chapter IV starts off with a typology of Polish copular constructions. The division is partly driven by the observation that Polish has two copulas: the verb 'być' (to be) and the pronominal 'to' (it), and both can occur simultaneously. Chapter V discusses the possible types of copular clauses that contain just the verbal copula 'to be'; the discussion here centers around the difference between copular constructions with be+DP (instrumental) vs be+DP (nominative). The author incorporates into her proposal Roy's (2006) observation that copular clauses can be either characterizing or defining. Bondaruk argues that the status of PredP determines the predicate DP's case so that clauses with instrumental DP's are characterizing, whereas the ones with nominative DP's are defining. Chapter VI tackles predication clauses with both copular elements present. Bondaruk argues that the pronominal copula heads a Predicate Phrase, whereas the verbal one is in v. This is a modification of Citko (2008), who also argued that both copulas have verb hosting heads. A large part of this Chapter is devoted to the difference between agreement and case mechanisms in copular constructions and double object constructions where, following Citko (2011), the author assumes that two verbal heads value each object independently. Chapter VII discusses inverse copular constructions in Polish. The author argues against Tajsner (2008) who, based on Bailyn's Generalized Inversion, proposes that the subject in inverse copular constructions remains in-situ, and instead offers an account based on Slioussar (2007), where she assumes that the subject in inverse copular constructions is in Spec-T and the predicate has undergone A'-movement to Spec-CP, or Spec-Topic. The final Chapter is devoted to equatives in Polish, which, according to the author, exhibit a symmetrical structure similar to what has been argued for in Moro (1997, 2000) for English, and for Russian by Pereltsvaig (2007). The symmetry is broken via movement driven by the need to label the small clause (Moro 2006). This allows one argument to be

closer to T than the other, and thus blocks the possibility of multiple agree. The book ends with a section providing summary and conclusions.

The very beginning of the book starts off with a discussion of English copular clauses involving Higgins' (1979) taxonomy of the types of structures based on the referential properties of DP's and the syntactic difference between predication, specificational, equative and identificational clauses. Examples of the four types used in the book are given below, following Higgins (1979).

1. As for the tallest girl in the class,
 - a. She is Swedish (Predicational - ascribing a property to the subject)
 - b. That/it is Rosa (Specificational - serves to specify a value for a variable)
 - c. Pointing to her: She is Rosa (Equative - signals identity)
 - d. This is Rosa (Identificational - teaches the name of places/people)

The aim of the chapter is to reduce that taxonomy to as few representations as possible. The idea is to group these expressions based on their common properties exhibited in processes like tag question formation, or the assignment of information structure. For example, the author argues that specificational clauses are inverted Predicational clauses. Adopting the proposals in Moro (2000), she argues for a small clause analysis of these structures. Differences between the two are reduced to the semantic type of the subject. Predicational clauses use referential subjects, whereas specificational require non-referential ones. The ideas presented here are a rehash of Mikkelsen (2005, 2011). Non-referential subjects of the type <e,t> are usually incompatible with indefinite DP's. However, as the author notes, there is attested presence of indefinite subjects in specificational clauses, as well as cases where a definite subject is ruled out. That kind of variation in the availability of semantic types of the subject is problematic for the approach in Mikkelsen (2005) which Bondaruk tries to defend. The issue is raised but never really addressed, leaving the reader with the impression that the author is content with just reporting different approaches. The impression lingers whilst reading the rest of the discussion concerning English. For example, the debate whether predicate raising is A or A' is reported in detail, however, the issue seems to be far from settled. Bondaruk seems to be satisfied with assuming Mikkelsen's approach, where the difference between predication and specificational clauses boils down to the feature composition of Tense. Predicational clauses involve movement of a referential DP to Spec-T for the usual reasons. Specificational clauses differ from predication in that T also has an uninterpretable Topic feature that has to be checked by a non-referential post-verbal DP. That DP moves even though it is c-commanded by the higher DP. It can move to T because it can check more

features, namely a Topic feature, than the higher DP. The author finds this analysis to be elegant in the spirit of the minimalist program. This reviewer must admit that he is not as convinced. The first obstacle is the issue of intervention effects, which Mikkelsen tries to resolve by assuming a principle where locality of movement can be overridden by feature-checking efficiency. Basically, if something below an eligible goal can check more features on the attracting head, then it can violate Relativized Minimality. This in itself is problematic since we should be able to alleviate any Relativized Minimality effect with information structure. More importantly, this reviewer is not a fan of incorporating information structure into a feature checking system. The end result seems to be inevitably a descriptive model where features are used as descriptions of structures and representations. Thus, a topic feature can appear on any head of a phrase to the Specifier of which we move a Topic-endowed XP. However, if we look at topicalization, almost any XP can be Topic. This gets the facts right, but it also makes the story unfalsifiable. After all, topic features only surface where there is topic.²

Chapter III discusses equatives in English. These differ from Predicational and specificational clauses in that both DP's are referential. Bondaruk provides an overview of arguments for and against a symmetrical structure of equatives as proposed for example in Moro (2000). The analysis is contrasted with proposals which share the intuition that there is a dedicated functional head licensing equative structures (as in Hedberg and Potter 2010 and Reeve 2010). Both the symmetrical approach and the dedicated functional head approach are rejected on the grounds that there is no empirical evidence for them in English, and thus, from a Minimalist perspective, they should be abandoned. The problem with this argument is that, when discussing Polish in later chapters, the author adopts a new functional head for predicational and specificational clauses (Pred) that can be defective or full, whereas for equatives she argues for a symmetrical structure along the lines of Moro (2000). Assuming that minimalist theories aim to achieve explanatory adequacy and there is UG in some form or another, then evidence from Polish should be sufficient grounds to propose a similar structure in English, unless there are clear facts to argue against such a unification. However, that does not seem to be the case. Bondaruk stresses that she rejects some proposals for English not because they are inconsistent with the data, but rather because by just looking at English it is not possible to eliminate simpler analyses (if we call type shifting of the predicate simpler, which is another matter). This might be a fine point, but an important one. If we take the minimalist program at its face value, then derivations in one language should apply to every other language, unless a child acquiring a language has clear triggers to adopt something different. In other words, we might as well argue that the initial hypothesis is that copular constructions are symmetrical

² It is also unlikely that Topic is a property of lexical heads.

as in Polish equatives. This hypothesis is falsified for some structures, for example predicational clauses in Polish. However, it is maintained for English as well as Polish equatives. This would mean that claims for a symmetrical structure of equatives in Polish represent an argument for adopting it for English equatives, and maybe even for predicational clauses.

Polish data is introduced in Chapter IV by giving us an overview of the types of copular clauses present in the language. It is an interesting and welcome survey. Polish not only exhibits a similar to English typology of copular constructions, it has an additional dimension in that it has two copulas that can co-occur with each other. The choice of copula plays a role in what type of clause is available. Furthermore, there is variation as to case marking of the predicational DP's. The verbal copula 'to be' can license a DP in the instrumental, or nominative; it also takes AP's. In addition to verbal copulas, there is a pronominal 'it' copula that behaves in isolation like a linker of identical categories. It can join two nominative DP's, two AP's or two PP's. When both pronominal and verbal copulas are present, then both DP's have to be nominative (Citko 2008). Bondaruk reports that there is agreement that predicational clauses can occur with the 'to be' copula, but it is less obvious if there are predicational clauses when both copulas are present ('it' plus 'to be'). It appears that some authors argue (Błaszczak & Geist 2001) that when both copulas are present the meaning is specificational or identificational. Setting aside the issue of two copulas, there is an additional dimension of variation in that predicational readings are available with the 'to be' copula licensing both nominative and instrumental case, as well as copula plus AP constructions. The division is different in equatives, which surface with all three combinations of copula provided the DP is in nominative. Finally, Bondaruk claims that the third type of clauses, namely specificational ones, require the presence of both copulas, but gives examples where the 'to be' copula is dropped (although the author does provide some arguments why specificational clauses are not possible without the 'it' copula being underlyingly present). As the reader can see, the discussion involves a lot of detail and the picture is far from clear. The distribution of copulas is most clear in identificational sentences, which appear to require just the pronominal or verbal copula, but not both. The author's meticulous listing of different forms is useful, but only up to a point. What appears to be lacking is a clear indication of what role Bondaruk's taxonomy will play in her theoretical proposals. This also applies to her discussion of the so-called syntactic tests showing that given types of copular constructions behave like a specific class in relation to processes like extraction, inversion, tag question formation, or left dislocation. These facts are interesting, but this reviewer feels that the discussion would be more engaging if the syntactic behavior of various classes of clauses was clearly tied in with the types of derivations that are argued for in later chapters.

In Chapter V, the author begins to outline her proposals. The discussion leads us to two types of predication clauses with the verbal copula 'to be' present.

2. (Ja) jestem Polakiem
 I(nom) am Polish (instr)
 'I am Polish'

3. (Ja) jestem Polak
 I (nom) am Polish (nom)
 'I am Polish'

Following Roy (2006) Bondaruk suggest that (2) is a characterizing clause, whereas (3) is a defining clause. She proposes a derivation where both DPs are generated in a PredicationPhrase (following Citko 2008). PredP can be defective, which means the head does not have any features, or it can have a full set of agreement features and license instrumental case. Thus, (2) contains a full PredP, whereas (3) involves a defective null PredP. The use of null functional heads is troublesome. If they have no features, then what is a Pred head? Just PF material? There is also no connection between defectiveness/fullness of Pred and the final interpretation of the clause as defining or characterizing. The mechanics of the derivation itself are somewhat complex. Example (2) involves the subject DP 'Ja' receiving case from T after raising to its Spec. The mechanism is via Agree, where T has unvalued agreement features, it probes its c-command domain, finds the nominative DP and, after valuing its agreement features, attracts the DP to Spec-T to satisfy EPP. The lower DP 'Polakiem' is probed by Pred which has unvalued agreement features and valued case features; Pred values its agreement features with the DP and assigns Instrumental case (the DP has unvalued case features). The copula 'to be' is a v head sandwiched between T and PredP. It does not seem to play any role, even in EPP movement. Having an inert phasal verbal head is peculiar considering that the author assumes a minimalist, presumably phase-based, model.

The derivation of (3) is more complex since Pred is defective. Case of both DP's is established via Agreement. The DP is in Spec-PredP and has unvalued case features. It probes its c-command domain and finds the DP complement of PredP. Agreement between two DP's with unvalued case is argued by the author to result in synchronization of unvalued case on both DPs, where now both DP's have unvalued case realized as nominative. T again has unvalued agreement features, it probes its c-command domain and finds the DP in Spec-PredP. What follows is feature valuation between T and the top subject that DP follows. Once that happens, the lower predicate DP receives nominative case by virtue of case agreement between the subject and predicate DP. Finally, the subject DP

raises to Spec-T. The analysis adopts a feature-sharing algorithm from Frampton and Gutmann (2000). However, instead of multiple agree, we have T probing one goal that agrees with another DP and, for purposes of case, they behave as one as if they were daisy chained. A similar analysis is adopted for AP complements of PredP, which are always marked as nominative because they agreed with the Subject DP.

The defective/non-defective status of Pred is aimed at capturing the difference in case marking on the predicate DP in (2) and (3). The proposed mechanism does not seem to be capturing anything else. For example, Bondaruk argues that, unlike in Russian, (2) and (3) do not differ as far as extraction of either the subject or predicate DP via *wh*-movement. This reviewer is not so sure about this claim. The examples given involve short *wh*-movement, which in a scrambling language is not very telling. It appears to this reviewer that long distance extraction favors the instrumental *wh*, like in Russian. However, the proposed analysis does not predict this. The complexity of the proposal leaves one wondering if it were not more economical to assume that there are two copulas ‘to be’ in Polish, where the characterizing one assigns nominative to its object, while the defining one assigns instrumental case. There is no need for a Pred phrase, or an elaborate mechanism of case agreement between DP’s. This criticism of unwarranted complexity applies to some degree to the other approaches that Bondaruk reviews and rejects. The book discusses different other proposals including Pereltsvaig (2007) and Roy (2006), all developed for Russian. The recurring postulate here is that there exists a structural difference between the Russian equivalents of (2) and (3). That might be the case, since we do have extraction asymmetries in Russian, and this phenomenon could provide justification for postulating different structures. However, the correlation between extraction properties and phrasal structure does not come through in the discussion. Bondaruk appears to be interested primarily in case assignment strategies.

In Chapter VI, the author discusses copular constructions where both the pronominal copula ‘to’ and the verbal copula ‘być’ are present. Bondaruk modifies Citko (2008) in that she places the pronominal clitic not in T but in Pred, positioning it below the verbal one in *v*. A Pred headed by ‘to’ is defective, hence the complement DP is always nominative. Bondaruk’s approach is interesting in that it captures the fact that ‘to’ is not tense marked, thus being in T would be strange, as opposed to the verbal copula, which is tense marked. Examples with both copulas as in (4) below are defining, and the correlation begs the question how would that be related to a defective Pred.

4. Marek to był muzyk
Mark(nom) it was musician (nom)
'Mark was a musician'

I think that the author has missed here an opportunity to push her analysis and account for the similarities between double copula constructions and verbal copula ones with a nominative predicate DP. This is unfortunate, since the proposal is extremely promising as far as the ability to capture such correlations between the two structures goes, as well as their differences. A good example is her analysis of the interesting property that the verbal copula construction with a nominative predicate DP can take 1st and 2nd and 3rd person pronoun subjects, but the double copular construction can only take 3rd person subjects. Bondaruk attributes this difference in distribution to the Person Case Constraint effects (Bonet 1991, Bejar & Rezac 2003). PCC states that a Direct and Indirect object combination cannot involve two weak elements where the Direct object is 1st or 2nd person.

5. I showed them it/*you/*me.

Polish does not observe the PCC in double object constructions (Citko 2011). However, the restriction on subjects in double copular constructions appears to be a reflex of the PCC. The idea pursued in the book is that double object constructions have a richer structure than in English, as argued by Citko (2011). Although Polish double object constructions differ from English, case evaluation in Polish double copular constructions remains similar enough to the one for double object constructions in English, so that in both cases PCC is triggered. This involves multiple probing by T into the verbal domain. Such probing is argued to trigger PCC.

The thing about copular constructions is that they often exhibit inversion. Undoubtedly, the relationship between inverted and non-inverted structures, as well as the differences between inverted constructions, can give us invaluable insight into the grammar. Thus it is no surprise that Bondaruk devotes a whole chapter to inverted constructions. The two types she concentrates on are given below. The (b) examples are inverted versions of the (a) examples.

- 6 a. Ewa jest moją przyjaciółką
Ewa (nom) is my friend(intsr)
'Eve is my friend'

- b. Moją przyjaciółką jest Ewa
 my friend (instr) is Ewa (nom)
 'Eve is my friend'
- 7 a. Ewa to jest moja przyjaciółka
 Eve(nom) it is my friend (nom)
 'Eve is my friend'
- b. Moja przyjaciółka to jest Ewa
 My friend (nom) it is Ewa (nom)
 'Eve is my friend'

The first distinction Bondaruk draws is that inverted clauses with just the verbal copula (6b) are predicational, as compared to the ones with both copulas (7b), which are specificational. The distinction is supported by the differences in information structure. Bondaruk argues that (7b) always has the post-copular DP in focus, whereas (6b) is more flexible and allows either DP to be focused. Because the pronominal copula is homophonous with 'it' clefts in Polish, the analogy with cleft constructions springs to mind, for example work in Declerck (1988). However, there is no mention of clefts in the discussion. The reviewer agrees that there is definitely a tendency for (7b) to have focus on the last DP, but there are counterexamples to the claim that the final DP has to be focused in (7b). In the example below, the DP is final, but it is a topic since it constitutes Given information, that is discourse available information by virtue of being present in the preceding structure.

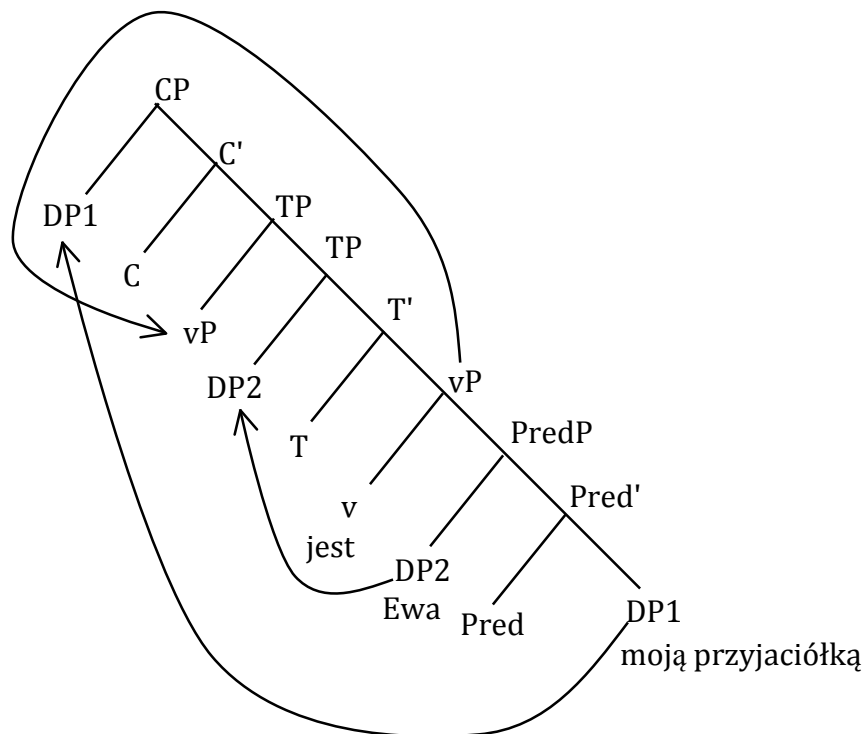
8. Mimo że nikt nie lubi Ewy, jestem pewien że moja przyjaciółka to jest Ewa
Although that no one not like Eve am certain that my friend it is Eve
'Although no one likes Eve, I am certain that Eve is my friend'

There are other examples like (8). It remains beyond the scope of this review to discuss the nature of such constructions; it is possible that there is some level of contrastive topicality here. Unfortunately, the author does not discuss types of focus or topic, which is a missed opportunity, and she equates information structure mapping with a semi-cartographic approach, where information structure is in the domain of the Left Periphery (Rizzi 1997), and possibly TP. It is possible that a relativistic approach in the spirit of Tajsner (2008), where Topic and Focus are computed relative to each other (see Wagner 2006, Kučerová 2012) is more promising. Bondaruk's criticism of the specific ideas in Tajsner has its basis. Polish does not have a unique dedicated post-verbal presentational

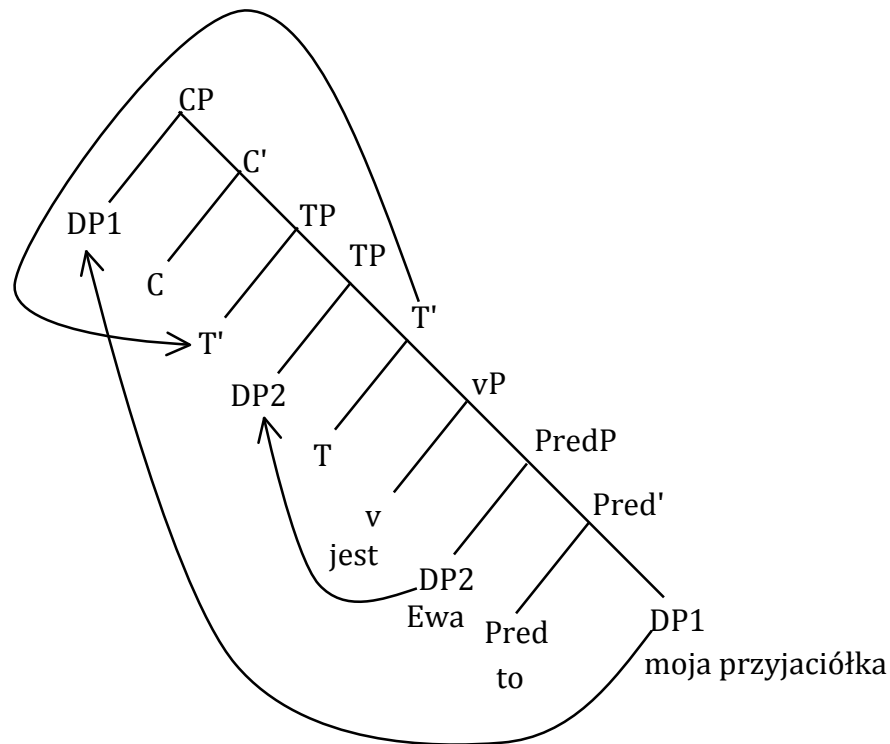
focus position like Romance languages do (Gallego 2013). However, there is nothing in the system preventing us from saying that focus and topic are computed relative to each other in two distinct configurations. Polish allows both computations: one which is typical for English, where focus is on the pre-verbal subject, and the other typical for Spanish, where post-verbal subjects are focused. Bondaruk's semi-cartographic solution is not so convincing, precisely because of the facts she cites indicating that focus can precede, or, follow topic. This dual configuration is difficult to capture if Topic is in Spec-C, for there is no focus position above it. To the author's credit, it has to be noted that she ultimately rejects a dedicated Topic head, and assumes that a position above focus is sufficient to receive a topic interpretation. Unfortunately, this position is high up in CP, making it look like a rehash of Rizzi (1997).

Bondaruk discusses interesting reconstruction phenomena that serve as confirmation of the A-bar status of the inverted DP. Her proposal is that (6b) is derived from (6a) by raising the predicate DP to Spec-CP, the subject DP moves to Spec-TP, followed by the vP complex, which also moves to Spec-TP. Example (7b) is derived from (7a) via movement of the predicate DP to Spec-CP, raising of the subject DP to Spec-TP, and raising the T-bar projection to Spec-TP. The derivations are given below. Reconstruction of the predicate DP is allowed and even expected since it undergoes A-bar movement to Spec-CP.

9 = 6b



10 = 7b



The above captures the fact that the A-bar moved DP can reconstruct. Bondaruk examines binding reconstruction data that seems to confirm this.

11. a. [Każde państwo w Europie zachodniej]_i było wrogiem swojego_i sąsiada
 every country (nom) in Europe western was enemy(instr) self neighbor
 'Every country in Western Europe was the enemy of its neighbor'
- b. Wrogiem swojego_i sąsiada było [każde państwo w Europie zachodniej]_i
 enemy(instr) self neighbor was every country (nom) in Europe western
 'Every country in Western Europe was the enemy of its neighbor'

The same pattern holds for clauses with both copulas present. There is a drawback, however. Polish reflexives can be pronominal in nature, as example (12) shows. Examples like the one below where the reflexive has no antecedent remind us that Binding data in Polish has to be treated carefully.

12. Znany wróg swojego sąsiada poszedł do kina
 known enemy (nom) of self neighbor went to cinema
 'A known enemy of his own neighbor went to the cinema'

Another interesting property of inverted structures is the way the DP's agree with the copula. Agreement patterns sensitive to gender indicate that in inverted structures agreement with the verb is carried out with the post-copular element.

13. a. Złym premierem była Suchocka
 Bad PM (instr. masc) was (fem) Suchocka (nom. fem)
 'Suchocka was a bad Prime Minister'
- b. Suchocka była złym premierem
 Suchocka (nom. fem) was (fem) bad PM (instr. masc)
 'Suchocka was a bad Prime Minister'

In the above example we can see that the canonical structure in (13b) exhibits agreement with the pre-verbal DP, whereas in inverted structures (13a) it is the post-verbal DP that undergoes gender agreement. This constitutes convincing evidence that inverted structures need to be derived from canonical ones. Unfortunately, the pattern of agreement does not hold for constructions where both the verbal and pronominal copula is present, and both DP's have to be marked as nominative. The example below shows that inversion changes agreement.

14. a. Zły premier to była Suchocka
 Bad PM (nom. masc) it was (fem) Suchocka (nom. fem)
 'Suchocka was a bad Prime Minister'
- b. a. Suchocka to był zły premier
 Suchocka (nom. fem) it was (masc) bad PM (instr. masc)
 'Suchocka was a bad Prime Minister'

In structures exemplified by (14) above, it is always the post-copular element that undergoes gender agreement with the copula. Bondaruk points this out, but does not offer an analysis, thus missing an opportunity to account for these interesting phenomena. It would be worth examining if case is somehow correlated with agreement, or maybe examine the possibility that the presence of both copulas blocks inversion.

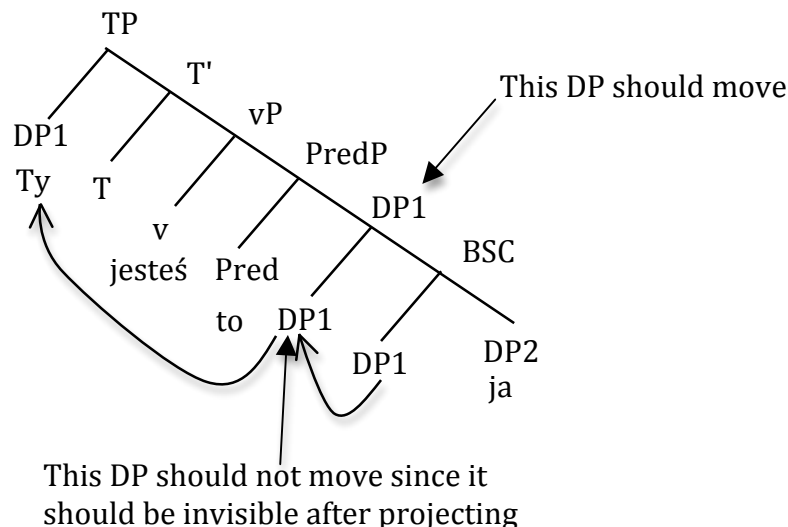
Last but not least, T-bar movement in (7b) is controversial. Bondaruk is aware of this and makes reference to Adger and Ramchand's (2003) analysis of Scottish Gaelic to support her own proposal. In footnote 6, Adger and Ramchand say that: '...note that within a bare phrase structure-type theory (Chomsky 1995), Pred' is a syntactic object just like

any other and so may move and target a position where it can satisfy the EPP requirements of T.' Unfortunately, such an approach is a misunderstanding of bare phrase structure. It would make X-bar structure and bare phrase structure translational variants. In bare phrase structure, there is no specialized phrase structure algorithm, just the forming of sets. Set formation puts two elements together. In the process there are only two things to keep track of: when the process starts - that is why heads are important, and when the process ends - that is why maximal projections and their labels are important. Intermediate phrases do not exist in the final representation of an XP, although they are a part of its computation. The system is derivational, with discrete stages of computation, but there is no 'memory' of projection, just heads and full phrases. In such a derivational system, an intermediate phrase cannot be probed before the final XP is completed, since there is no probe at that point (it is inserted after an XP is complete). Take for example a derivation where an XP merges with YP giving {XP, YP}. Assume the result is XP={XP, YP}. If intermediate categories were to exist in bare phrase, they would have the status of maximal projections, and a subsequent probe P seeking an XP would not be able to distinguish the intermediate category target from the final phrase: does P Agree with XP={XP, YP}, or the XP inside XP that is merged with YP? Movement could not take place. It is important to highlight this issue because special labeling algorithms, something Bondaruk makes use of in her final chapter on equatives, have no place within a system where projection levels are pre-determined, as they are for example in X-bar structure. In X-bar like systems, labels are established by heads that project bar levels. However, Bondaruk wants to maintain vestiges of X-bar structure and, at the same time, utilize the discussion in Chomsky (2013) which exploits a potential problem of how to label the outcome of an XP merging with another YP. But Chomsky's discussion only makes sense if we do not have intermediate phrases like X-bar. In X-bar systems it is impossible to merge with a maximal projection, unless you are an adjunct, and even there, labels are pre-determined and so is linearization.

As already mentioned, the issue is important for the analysis of equatives, where Bondaruk adopts proposals from Moro (2000) and argues that there is a symmetrical merger of two DP's and one of them has to raise in order for the structure to be labeled. In a system where intermediate projections exist, this would not be an issue to exploit. One DP would be in Specifier of another DP, or adjoined to it. No other options exist in X-bar. There could never be a set {DP1, DP2} reanalyzed as DP1. However, it is precisely this inability to label a symmetrical set like {DP1, DP2} that constitutes the cornerstone of the author's analysis of Polish equatives. That is why Bondaruk should not make use of intermediate projections; doing so leads to contradictions. To see this contradiction, let us examine the structures underlying equatives that Bondaruk argues for. Equatives involve two

nominative DP's that are later separated by one, or both, copulas (pronominal 'it' and verbal 'to be'). This separation is achieved via movement of one of the DP's out of the symmetrical structure and subsequent raising to T. Following Pereltsvaig (2007) and Moro (2000), Bondaruk assumes that the two DP's form a bare small clause (BSC), and one of the DP's has to raise. Bondaruk follows Moro (2000) in allowing a structure $BSC = \{DP1, DP2\}$ to be un-labeled and un-linearized. This implies BSC needs to become asymmetrical in order to converge. The symmetry is broken when one DP moves. To be precise, BSC ultimately receives a label when one of the DP's re-merges with it, thus forming $\{DP1, \{DP1, DP2\}\}$. In the case of equatives, where both DP's are pronouns, either DP1 or DP2 can move. Otherwise, it is always the pronoun DP that moves (it is far from clear whether we can have equatives with both DP's being non-pronominal). Movement out of BSC is driven purely by the need to label and linearize. It is not the result of T being a probe, hence no multiple probing and no PCC. The result is a set $DP1 = \{DP1, BSC\}$, where $BSC = \{DP1, DP2\}$. At this point, T can probe the closest DP. Unfortunately, the derivation again makes use of movement of intermediate levels of projecting phrases, although unlike with T-bar raising, the author does not explicitly say so. To be precise, Bondaruk assumes it is not the maximal projection $DP1 = \{DP1, BSC\}$ that is probed, but the initial DP1 merged with BSC. But that should be only possible if the moved element DP1 did not project. When the moved DP1 projects, as it has to since that is why it moved, the closest DP1 for T as a probe is the DP1 resulting from the merger of $\{DP1, BSC\} = DP1$, and not the DP1 merged with BSC. In order to illustrate the point, let us examine the derivation of a simple equative provided by the author on page 326 (PF type movement of the pronominal copula 'to' is not indicated).

15. Ty to jesteś ja
you it is me
'You are me'



This is a problem. To be fair, Bondaruk admits that her analysis of equatives is tentative. For example, another unresolved issue is what assigns case to the non-raised DP2 that remains in BSC. Both have to be nominative, which would suggest that the application of the previously adopted mechanism for predication defining clauses is at play. The moved DP1 agrees and synchronizes in case with the lower DP2. This is only possible if Pred in equatives is defective, otherwise it would assign instrumental case to DP1. However, it is far from clear why a defective Pred is present in both constructions, aside from the fact that it captures nominative case assignment. One can only hope that Bondaruk continues her research and develops further her ideas on equatives and the defective nature of Pred.

The book is an important contribution to the discussion of copular constructions in Slavic. It provides a lot of novel data, and an insightful analysis. It does have some drawbacks, but they highlight the weakness of existing theories, as much as the complexity of material that we are dealing with. Bondaruk's work, even when it raises doubts, allows us to formulate new and interesting questions about the nature of these constructions in Polish. There is a feeling that this is the beginning of a research program and not its culmination. Research of the type this book represents invites new questions and debates about the structure of the verbal domain. For example, it would be interesting to explore the ideas involving phase extension (Den Dikken 2007) and head movement in structures discussed in this book. The idea would be to use Polish and other Slavic language data to tell us something about the nature of these processes and provide insight into English and other languages. This reviewer hopes that this will be the case. This book is a good starting point for such an exciting research program.

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